

FREE POLAND

DEVOTED TO THE PRESENTATION OF THE CAUSE OF A UNITED AND INDEPENDENT
POLAND TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

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The New Poland Its Geographic Complexion

AT this time when the peace parley is almost at hand, it is well to repeat certain of the declarations with regard to Poland which have already been made and to which the Polish people are holding with confidence.

PRESIDENT WOODROW WILSON.—"An independent Polish State should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant."

PREMIER CLEMENCEAU—"The Baltic Sea is now in complete possession of the Germans, and has been changed into a 'German Lake.' It is necessary that Russia's place should be taken by a powerful commonwealth that will guarantee to halt Germany in her march eastward, and such commonwealth will be a united, independent and powerful Poland. The establishment of Poland has been definitely decided upon, but she must be powerful, and, therefore, must regain all of the territory taken from her by the Prussians, Austria and Russia. Poland must be so powerful that in case of war she could alone take care of Germany. This task will be accomplished by the Allies irrespective of how much more blood will have to flow. Only Poland can guarantee peace and retain the political equilibrium in Europe."

PREMIER LLOYD GEORGE.—"We believe moreover that an independent Poland, comprising all these genuinely Polish elements who desire to form part of it is an urgent necessity for the stability of Western Europe."

"Therefore, feeling as it does a deep sympathy for the Polish people and viewing with gratification the progress of the Polish cause, this Government experiences a feeling of genuine satisfaction in being able to comply with your request by recognizing the Polish Army, under the supreme political authority of the Polish National Committee, as autonomous and co-belligerent."—Secretary Lansing to Roman Dmowski, President of the Polish National Committee of Paris.

INTERALLIED COUNCIL OF VERSAILLES, June 3, 1918.—"The creation of a united and independent Polish State, with free access to the sea, constitutes one of the conditions of a solid and just peace and of the rule of right in Europe."

COUNT EDWARD SODERNI.—"It is especially important that the reawakening of conscience in the peoples of Europe, which seems now to have taken place, should not be a mere passing phase, and that they must insist upon the reconstruction of Poland in such fashion that there shall be no possibility of the promises made during the war being afterwards violated A reconstituted Poland would prove a powerful rampart against certain possible invasions."

NAPOLEON I (at St. Helena).—"Poland is the key-stone of the European situation."

THE Polish enthusiasm over the avowed and announced determination of American and Allied statesmen to include Prussian Poland within the confines of the new Polish State, is no mere sentimental demonstration. It is true that Posnania has always been considered the cradle of the Polish race and that the ancient port of Danzig has been the dream of the Polish people ever since misfortune first laid her heavy hand upon them. All the literature and art of the Poles has long been centered around the return of this territory. Back of any sentimental feeling that may exist is the shrewd appreciation of the economic situation which has long made it plain to sound thinkers, that without Prus-

sian Poland, without Danzig, the independence of the new Polish State would be but a dream; Poland, as an interior State, however small or limited her frontiers, will always cling to freedom, but her people will be obliged to maintain it by guerilla warfare, rather than through treaties of peace such as a strong and economically powerful sound country can make. Without Prussian Poland and its own seaport at the mouth of the Vistula, Poland will do her best to maintain her position in a Congress of Nations, but she will be dependent on sheltering arms for her existence. With Prussian Poland, she will not only be able to hold her own, but to strike of herself, and her compacts will carry strength as well as force the respect of all nations.

BISMARCK himself, long ago foresaw that the fate of Poland as a nation, rested absolutely on the possession of the port of Danzig and the adjacent territory. It was because he appreciated that as long as the Prussians held Danzig, they could cripple Poland, that he devoted all his energy to the driving out of the Polish nationality feeling of this famous port city, and out of Prussian Poland. He complained bitterly that the Poles were erecting a nation within a nation. Danzig, he declared in one of his speeches, was one of the first points for which the Poles would aim because of its necessity, and once they were possessed of that sea port, they could not be estopped in their pursuit of freedom. Whereupon great funds were lavished upon the city in the hope of eradicating this spirit. This is what the Allied statesmen must bear in mind when they sit at the peace table planning the future of the world. German diplomacy and intrigue are now being devoted to calling for bread from America and the Allies, but when that need is supplied, the German leaders will again begin to call for territory.

THEY will reach a stage of distress over the loss of the coal and ore fields in the territory and the weakening of German industrial life as a result. Yet, their original looting of this territory from Poland has kept the nation in chains during the past hundred years. A peace without a strong and substantial Poland will only be a

mockery. We cannot ignore that phase of the situation. There are those, and they are appearing in American centers, who have casually given it as their opinion that the needs of the Polish people can be met by the internalization of Danzig. Anxious to soften the terms of the new peace pact which Germany will be asked to sign, they feel that this is an easy and attractive manner in which to dispose of the problem. Without assuming the role of a prophet, the declaration can be made that Germany would gladly accept this suggestion. But an internalized Danzig would mean a Germanized Danzig. It would mean that 30,000,000 Poles would be dominated by the Germans. If the Germans can retain the territory, they have no worry about the administration. Only a few months ago, in the German parliament, the proposition was formally made to the Poles that if they would agree to accept the plan and take up a new friendship with the Germans, the Imperial Government would be glad to execute a long lease of the city and port to the Polish State. Is any further evidence needed as to how a plan for internationalization would work out? It is inevitable that out of this war, the number of small states to be safeguarded by covenants of nations is bound to increase, but surely the American and Allied governments will not seek to multiply this number. Each covenanted state or nation means additional trouble for the larger nations which will have to pledge them protection. Poland is not a small nation if the people are allowed to fulfill their destiny. There will be thirty million inhabitants within its boundaries, people well established in western culture, in the arts and sciences, in agriculture, in manufacture, and in all the developments which make for a strong people. Belgium, after a disastrous experience under covenanted peace, wants complete freedom and Belgium has a population of only seven million. Poland, with its population, is entitled to freedom from such burdens or restrictions. It will become a potential factor in a league of nations by the addition of Prussian and Austrian Poland to Russian Poland. When the peace is signed the civilized world will not have any too much strength, and therefore, should not refuse an opportunity to secure the aid which Poland can properly give.

Recognition of Poland

"Autonomous and Co-belligerent," Writes Secretary Lansing

THE Polish army in France, now under the supreme command of General Josef Haller and subject to the authority of the Polish National Committee at Paris, has been formally recognized by the United States Government. Secretary Lansing, of the State Department has issued a letter, in which he not only recognizes the Army as a co-belligerent and allied force, but also gives renewed assurances of the gratification which the American Government feels over the progress of the Polish national movement, to Mr. Roman Dmowski, president of the Polish National Committee, conveying this information.

The letter reads as follows:

"Sir: I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letters of October 18 and October 25, requesting the Government of the United States to associate itself with the Governments of France and Great Britain by recognizing the Polish Army, under the supreme political authority of the Polish National Committee, as autonomous, allied and co-belligerent.

"In reply, I beg to inform you that the Government of the United States has not been unmindful of the zeal and tenacity with which the Polish National Committee has prosecuted the task of marshalling its fellow-countrymen in a supreme military effort to free Poland from its present oppressors.

"This Government's position with respect to the Polish cause and the Polish people could hardly be more clearly defined than was outlined by the President in his address before the Congress of January 8, 1918. Therefore, feeling as it does a deep sympathy for the Polish people and viewing with gratification the progress of the Polish cause, this Government experiences a feeling of genuine satisfaction in being able to comply with your request by recognizing the Polish Army, under the supreme political authority of the Polish National Committee, as autonomous and co-belligerent."

(Signed) ROBERT LANSING.

Note: Similar recognition of the Army and of the Polish National Committee, of which Mr. I. J. Paderewski is the American representative, has already been given by the French, English and Italian Governments. By reason of this recognition, the Army, with other allied forces, is under the control of General Foch, as are the American and other armies.

The Polish Army—The Realization of a Great Dream

A FEW days ago, when Secretary of State Lansing, in the formal language which the occasion demands, issued a note recognizing the Polish Army in France as a co-belligerent and Allied force in the world war, there was one man in New York whose eyes lighted as with fire, and whose heart gave an exultant throb at the news conveyed to him over the telephone from Washington.

That man was Ignace J. Paderewski, the pianist, within whose heart and brain the project for the creation of a Polish army to fight with the Allies and for his beloved Poland, was first conceived. Days in advance of the American recognition of the Republic of France, the Kingdom of Italy, and Mr. Balfour of England, acting for His Majesty's Government, had extended recognition to the armed force which marches and fights

under the White Eagle of Poland, but it was for the word of America that Mr. Paderewski had been waiting.

For in America the idea was conceived. In America the major part of the force was recruited which, under General Gouraud, helped to block the march of the Huns on Paris. That was why Mr. Paderewski longed for the sign of greeting from the United States authorities.

The Polish Army of today exists by reason of the vision of Mr. Paderewski and by reason of his appeals to his countrymen in America. There was doubt, there was indecision, there were misunderstandings at the beginning, and even among his fellow Poles, men intensely anxious for the salvation of their country, there was failure to understand the real significance or import-

ance of an independent army. It is true the United States refused to accept either as volunteers or drafted men, Poles born in German and Austrian Poland, but the opponents of the army felt, that under the circumstances their slates would be cleared if they went through the formula of offering themselves and being refused.

Yet peace, which has descended almost like a thunderbolt, has justified all that Mr. Paderewski planned, for the New Poland has an army that even now is being moulded as clay upon a potter's wheel as a result of his efforts, and which will shortly make its way within the ancient and historic borders of Poland, there to assist in the sustaining of the new government.

The Polish Army in America has been created amid an atmosphere of song, of poetry, and of lofty patriotism. Its recruiting meetings were almost religious festivals, the farewells of the Polish boys were epics, and the deaths which have been offered upon the fields of France have been heroic.

Only a poet and musician could have framed the call issued for volunteers in October, 1917. It was prepared and signed by Mr. Paderewski:

"From the bottom of our hearts we call and challenge you to the ranks, to arms, to battle, to the trenches, to a great and glorious struggle for the protection of threatened humanity, for the wrongs suffered by Poland.

"Go, so the world may know that in your breast the knightly valor of your forefathers has not been stilled; that the fearless bravery of the Poles of old has not vanished.

"Go, to give testimony that the American Pole is a worthy heir to the glory of Polish arms. Without Goplo, Kruswica, Gniezno and Poznan, the ancient cradle of the nation, there can be no Poland.

"Without Silesia, the ancient home of Piast, there can be no Poland. Without Vistula and the seashore, without our ancient Gdansk (Danzig), there can be no Poland.

"On to the fight! Let the proud watchword of our forefathers be your watchword. Go with confidence and faith, proclaiming to all and everywhere: we fight for our and your freedom."

"The God of your forefathers, who made triumphant the swords of Chobry, Lokietek and Jagiello, against the aggressive Teutonic hordes, will answer the prayer of the luminous immortal Kosciuszko's spirit, and will grant you victory and glory."

It was a wonderful, mystical day in Chicago when Mr. Paderewski made this appeal and men and boys rose from their benches in the great hall to stand before the platform from

which he was speaking. Laborers, college professors, lawyers, doctors, chemists and bankers rallied to the flag of Poland. The sacrifice which they were prepared to make was an extraordinary one, for it meant leaving America for a scant wage, without any provision either for the support of their families while absent or for payment of insurance in case of death. Yet Polish mothers gave their sons, and wives their husbands, for the cause. In many cases the families were actually consolidated into cooperative housekeeping units so the men might be free to go.

It was this spirit which aroused the admiration of Secretary of War Baker, who wrote to the Polish National Department that: "The men are moved by the inspiration of the principles involved on the Allied side, and their presence on the Western front will be a stimulating and inspiring sight. It should be made known to the people of the United States the extent of the voluntary sacrifice which these men are making. It will be wholesome to have Americans realize the circumstances in order that they may more fully appreciate the high motives which have animated these Polish soldiers."

But the raising of an army was not sufficient; recognition had to be secured, housing and training accommodations provided. The President of France gave the army its first legal standing. Then Canada opened wide her doors and provided a training camp at Niagara on the Lake, and Secretary Baker reached out and opened the doors of Fort Niagara.

The men responded magnificently to the training. Colonel Martin, of the French High Mission, detailed by the French Government to supervise the work, grew enthusiastic over their responses. He paid them the greatest compliment a French officer can give, by saying that in their dash, courage and skill they reminded him of the troops of his own command in France. There was still the question of their ability in battle. How would these men from the mills and factories, whom their American associates had been regarding as of a lower grade than themselves, stand the shock?

The real baptism of fire came on the 25th of last July, and the day following General Archinard, of the French Army, who at that time was in charge of the Polish forces, cabled his admiration to America:

"Will you please inform the Polish organizations in America that a brilliant attack has been made the 25th of July by several units of the 1st Regiment of Polish chasseurs.

"All the objectives were quickly reached in spite of their long distance from the Polish lines. The 5th Company, under the command of Captain Krzykowski-Wolhnski, after having annihilated a whole battalion of the 66th Prussian regiment and inflicted heavy losses on the rest of that regiment, took the famous Roquette Woods, also capturing more than 100 prisoners and 20 machine guns.

"Captain Packaski, although wounded (he had a thumb blown off) remained at the head of his detachment all that day and the following night.

"During a hand to hand fight, Adjutant Fandor killed several Germans. Among them was a captain whom, after a hard fight, he knocked down dead with the handle of a pike.

"Captain Krzyowski-Wolhnski and Second Lieutenants Bauer and Bartman were gloriously killed at the head of their men.

"On account of this splendid action the 5th Company of the 1st Regiment which was in the battle at the side of the French troops was mentioned in dispatches and mentioned at the order of the day of the 21st Army Corps in the following terms:

"After having repulsed the violent German attack of July 15, 1918, and following a short artillery preparation during the night of the 24th and 25th of July, 1918, the 5th Company of the 1st Regiment of Polish Chasseurs, in spite of a strong resistance of the enemy, stormed the objectives which had been assigned to it on a front of over two kilometers and at a distance of about 1 kilometer from the starting point, also capturing over 100 prisoners."

(Signed) "General Archinard."

The move of these humble wage-earners in America for their native land had an influence far beyond the immediate battle line. Directly after it became known that an army was in formation appeals reached Mr. Paderewski from all parts of the world. Poles in South America rallied with 2,500 men, whom they contributed to the colors. From Harbin, from the plains of Manchuria, the Polish officers and men offered their aid to him and began making their way to the sea to join the Polish army in France.

Within the Austrian Empire it lighted the fire of revolution and General Haller, in command of the Carpathian Iron Brigade of Polish soldiers in the Austrian army, led a revolt and marched his men out of Bukowina in Austria and into Bessarabia, where he consolidated part of his force with the Czechoslovak army, and then joined the remainder with the Allied forces on the Murman coast. He then made his way to Paris, where he was made commander-in-chief of all Polish armed forces.

The Polish Army today is a living, breathing, fighting organization. It is a dream, a wonderful dream come true, and the man who, when America entered the war, closed his piano and vowed he would not play again until Poland was free, the man who a few days ago in Cracow was acclaimed as the first president of the Republic of Poland, has made his dream real.—The Boston (Mass.) *Herald*.

THANKSGIVING—1918

By the President of the United States of America

A PROCLAMATION

It has long been our custom to turn in the autumn of the year in praise and thanksgiving to Almighty God for His many blessings and mercies to us as a nation. This year we have special and moving cause to be grateful and to rejoice. God has in His good pleasure given us peace. It has not come as a mere cessation of arms—a mere relief from the strain and tragedy of war. It has come as a great triumph of right. Complete victory has brought us, not peace alone, but the confident promise of a new day as well in which justice shall replace force and jealous intrigue among the nations. Our gallant armies have participated in a triumph which is not marred or strained by any purpose of selfish aggression. In a righteous cause they have won immortal glory and have nobly served their nation in serving mankind. God has indeed been gracious. We have cause for such rejoicing as revives and strengthens in us all the best traditions of our national history. A new day shines about us in which our hearts take new courage and look forward with new hope to new and greater duties.

While we render thanks for these things let us not forget to seek the Divine guidance in the performance of those duties, and Divine mercy and forgiveness for all errors of act or purpose, and pray that in all that we do we shall strengthen the ties of friendship and mutual respect upon which we must assist to build the new structure of peace and good will among the nations.

Wherefore, I, Woodrow Wilson, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate Thursday, the 28th day of November next, as a day of thanksgiving and prayer and invite the people throughout the land to cease upon that day from their ordinary occupations and in their several homes and places of worship to render thanks to God, the ruler of nations.

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed.

Done in the District of Columbia this 16th day of November in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and eighteen, and of the independence of the United States of America the one hundred and forty-third.

WOODROW WILSON.

By the President:
ROBERT LANSING,
Secretary of State.

POLISH SHIPBUILDING

A campaign for subscriptions with which to build a Polish vessel at Danzig to be named after the President of the United States has been begun in Poland. The Mayor of Warsaw, Dr. Drzewiecki, is at the head of the movement. Danzig was formerly a Polish port, but has been included in Prussia. Polish nationalist leaders claim that a free Poland should have an outlet to the Baltic and should again have possession of Danzig.—N. Y. *Journal of Commerce*.

German Poland

SOME light is thrown on the imperfect reformation achieved by the new German Government, which is still the Imperial German Government, by its ideas of certain of the territorial readjustments involved in the end of the war. For instance, Dr. Solf, now Foreign Minister, told the Reichstag the other day that the question of German Poland did not come within the meaning of President Wilson's fourteen points. Let us see about this. The President demanded a free Poland, including all territory inhabited by indisputably Polish populations. If indisputably Polish means 100 per cent Polish, perhaps Dr. Solf is right; but of course it does not mean that.

Posnania, according to German figures, has a Polish population which is 62 per cent of the total. When it is considered that the German minority includes soldiers and administrative officials who are mere carpet-baggers in most cases, and a very considerable number of Poles who had to say that they were German because the German Government and German employers would not hire them otherwise, the actual German population shrinks to a small figure. In Upper Silesia the Poles are 80 or 90 per cent; in West Prussia they run from 50 to 75 per cent in most districts; in the Mazurian Lake region of East Prussia they are a majority. The population of these districts, in other words, is "indisputably Polish."

In addition to the fourteen points, however, we may take into consideration the President's subsequent declarations—such as the statement made through Secretary Lansing in May that this country desired to see all branches of the Slav race freed from German and Austrian rule, and his frequent insistence on having territorial questions settled by the wish of the people immediately concerned. This principle which forms the letter of most of the fourteen points and his other declarations, will surely bring German Poland into unity with the rest of the Polish territory.

The German Poles have been exercising self-determination ever since they were annexed to Prussia, and particularly in the last thirty years, during which period Prussia has tried by the most drastic laws and the most severe economic, political and social measures to denationalize the Poles of Posnania, Upper Silesia, West Prussia, and the southern part of East Prussia. The Poles have resisted this

process with a determination rarely paralleled in the history of subject races, and they have kept German Poland Polish save for a small strip of territory on its western border. A nation which has fought with such determination and success for the preservation of its national individuality is hardly going to lose its rights through the devious logic of a Solf. His motive is plain enough; Posnania and Upper Silesia are rich and prosperous districts, carefully exploited by Prussia; and if Germany can retain Danzig and keep Poland away from the Baltic she will have the rest of the Polish people economically and strategically at her mercy. As in nearly all the other cases where a small people is struggling for freedom from the Hohenzollerns and the Hapsburgs, the interest of the non-German world and the demands of justice coincide. The Poles of Prussia must be free.—The New York (N. Y.) *Times*.

POLAND'S CAUSE A WORLD CAUSE

The following is a statement which was prepared by Dr. Emile Joseph Dillon, war correspondent of the *London Daily Telegraph* which he gave to certain newspapers in New York. Dr. Dillon was on his way to Russia as a semi-official representative of the British government, and his authority on Russian and Polish affairs is unquestioned.

"The future of Europe depends on the reconstruction of Poland," Dr. Dillon said, "also on the Czecho-Slovaks and the Jugo-Slavs. Poland will have to be reconstructed in such a way that she will be self-contained, able to exist and thrive, independent of any other nation. If we reconstruct without Danzig, and what is called the Hinterland, Poland will inevitably be drawn within Germany's orbit and, whether or no, she will have to act as an instrument of Germany.

"The most important point will be the reconstruction of Poland. Everything will depend on that. The test of our victory over the Germans is the degree of independence which Poland, the Czecho-Slovaks and Jugo-Slavs will receive. Unless these three States are economically as well as politically independent of the Germans, we might as well have made peace three years ago.

"It is quite true that if we give Poland Danzig and the Hinterland, Eastern Prussia will be isolated. That will be a difficulty, but it is a lesser evil than the alternative. The corollary of that will be the constitution of an independent East Prussian state.

"The Ukrainian problem has cropped up recently and to some people it seems a very formidable question. But I, personally, don't think it is. I believe that in the natural course of events, Ukrainia will join with Russia, because the two peoples are one racially and in language and in religion.

"I was once a professor in the University of Kharkoff, and my colleagues were members of the Ukrainian movement which was an intellectual rather than a popular movement. It was supported very largely by the Austrians. When I went abroad for my vacations, I was accustomed to bring back books in the Ukrainian language, published in Austria, which were forbidden in Russia. Only the intellectuals were active in the movement.

"It was fostered indirectly by the Russian government, which forbade the use of the Ukrainian dialect, and, being a philologist, I asked whether it was a language or a dialect. I found it was simply a dialect, hardly more different from the Russian language than is the Northumberland dialect from the English language.

"Before Russia can be reconstructed, it will be absolutely necessary, in my judgment, that help should come from without—not in the form of an army, but in the form of economic assistance such as the United States is at present offering."

Recurring to Poland, Dr. Dillon explained the Danzig and Hinterland additions to Poland would include the mouth of the Vistula and an outlet on the Baltic Sea. All this was Polish at one time. Dr. Dillon continued:

"It is quite true that now there are a number of Germans in this territory, but if it is not given to the Poles, they will not be self-contained, but dependent upon Germany. Economic dependence, of course, involves political dependence. Poland, without this territory would be compelled to rely upon Germany and to enter into its orbit."

DECLARATION OF AUSTRIAN POLES

THE dignity, the bravery and the directness of the Polish nationality demonstrations as made in the Austrian Parliament during the month of October and before the dissolution of the Dual Empire began, is well evidenced by the speeches made by Polish members which have been received by the Polish Bureau in Washington.

On October 2, it appears, the Polish members under the leadership of Deputy Daszynski, of the Socialist Club; Glabinski, of the National Democrats, and Tertile, president of the Polish Circle, declared, not only for the freedom of a United Poland, but in favor of a League of Nations. They severally and jointly presented the following declaration which was only estopped from adoption by the adjournment of the session.

"I. Be it resolved by the Chamber of Deputies that

"1. We recognize the right of every nation to decide its own form of Government, and our efforts are all directed toward a universal peace based on the agreement of all nations. In order to realize

this and assure every nation of its official independence, we positively abandon all secret diplomacies which tend to negotiate the fate of the nations without their knowledge and consent. We are defeating the militarism of every nation and we express the hope that the world war will end with the creation of an alliance of the free nations and the creation of an international tribunal of arbitration. This foundation can only be built by an international Peace Congress through the cooperation of the representatives of all nations. Peace will only be permanent when it fulfills the requirements of historic justice which means the restoration of independence to all oppressed nations.

"II. Guided by such principles, we also resolve that

"1. As representatives of the Polish people in Austria, we consider the partition of Poland an act of violence against the Polish people. We demand the restoration of Poland complete, together with its sea shores and the areas inhabited chiefly by Polish people, especially Silesia.

"2. We wish to stipulate that the Polish question should neither be considered nor treated as an internal or political matter of any one of the powers which effected the partition of Poland. We abandon all one-sided solutions of the Polish question. We demand the participation of all representatives of the Polish people in the Peace Congress which will solve the Polish question.

"3. With no intention of ruling any other nation, and working towards our own freedom, we commend the efforts of every oppressed nation in the pursuit of its independence."

"We are now living a great moment," they said, "in which the militarism on all fronts is meeting with defeat. Prussian militarism is crumbling under the inexorable blows of the united nations of the western democracy and the republics of Western Europe and Northern America. The fall of Prussian militarism will carry with it all those who cling to it, depending on its success for existence. Along with Prussian militarism the Austrian bureaucracy will be precipitated, as well as Magyar feudalism, which is the incarnation of the methods of denationalizing all nations inhabiting Austria-Hungary. It is no wonder then that the hearts of all subdued peoples beat as strongly as they did when Czardom was abolished.

"The present pretense at peace preparedness is not based on the desire of the rulers for real peace, for Bulgaria has had to make a separate peace, in spite of Count Burian's peace notes. The world has not forgotten how, not very long ago, peace was demonstrated by the uncrowned emperor of Germany—Hindenburg. The history of the government of Austria-Hungary is a series of perfidiousness towards the people.

"We have gone into battle in the light of the sun. Our arms are not those of a traitor, they are the arms which fight for the freedom of our nation. Our battle is against Czardom, against the oppression of all people, against the enemy of democratic Europe and against the enemy of humanity. We have gone into the fight, to battle on the side of right. We are content."

Senator Lodge Urges Polish Port

City of Danzig Must Belong to Poles to Insure New State Access to the Sea

United States Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, of Massachusetts, who has on several occasions demonstrated his sympathy with the Polish cause, has given further evidence of his feeling in this regard by offering, on November 18th, a resolution in the Senate reading as follows:

Resolved, That in the opinion of the Senate an independent Polish State should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

In support of his resolution Senator Lodge, as quoted in the Congressional Record (vol. 56, No. 259, page 12678), said:

Mr. President, the words of that resolution are identical with the words of point 13 used by the President in his 14 points. That statement is very brief and very explicit and I think it will be very well at this time for the Senate to join itself with the President in the statement on that point in regard to Poland.

The reason why I say that is this. You will observe that the President speaks of access to the sea. That access to the sea can only be at Danzig at the mouth of the Vistula. The Vistula is inhabited entirely along both banks by Poles, but Danzig is a German city and I have already seen attempts to say that as a German city they must continue to hold it and give certain rights to the Poles. The access to the sea that the Poles will get if Danzig is held will not be worth having. Guaranties can be given to the people of Danzig. I think nothing is more important than the President's proposition about access to the sea.

My other reason for offering and hoping the Senate will adopt the resolution is that I have information which I think good that there is a movement on foot, a strong movement, though underground, here and abroad to prevent the establishment of a strong independent Poland. They want to break it up for some reason and have a small State, with a German or a Hapsburg prince, and probably a small State with a republican form, but with tendencies to defeat it. I thought at this moment it would be well to show that the Senate is with the President in his statement in regard to what should be done for Poland, which was absolutely explicit.

On motion of Senator Hitchcock the resolution, No. 338, was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

In thus warmly endorsing the attitude of President Wilson with reference to a free, united and independent Poland, Senator Lodge has added one more item to the already large debt of gratitude which Poles in America and elsewhere owe him for his indefatigable efforts in behalf of their beloved Motherland.

Women of Poland

(By GLADYS OWEN STEWART, in the *Detroit Free Press*)

Realization of how comparatively small a percentage of the human race enjoys the God-given right of liberty comes to the average American in the nature of a shock. It is only by the study of history and the contemplation of the struggles and progress of other nations, that he begins to appreciate the freedom which is his, to sense by what sacrifices it was obtained, and to feel his duty to preserve that liberty with a jealousy and watchfulness which will permit nothing to encroach even slightly upon ground already won, lest it be wrested from him in an unguarded moment.

The war has proved as nothing else could prove with what appalling ease freedom may be torn from the grasp of those who have taken too much for granted, and how much suffering and heroism are necessary to redeem a treasure whose inestimable worth is realized only after it has been lost.

There was a "golden age" in Poland as there has been in all great countries with sufficiently old histories, and there is every reason to believe that the period may come again in the near future. Like a Phoenix, from the ashes of a depth of desolation and ruin such as even Poland, the harassed and long suffering, had never before sunk to, it is believed that a new Poland will rise and take its place again among the nations of the world as an independent country, with the freedom to make its own laws, regulate its own economic system, and dictate with the dignity of a world power, what its international policy shall be.

The miracle for which the statesmen and seers prayed has arrived—the war in which the three great nations that rent the body of Poland asunder, but which could not destroy its living soul—Germany, Austria, and Russia—are arrayed against each other. Although a buffer state between these warring powers, the theater, because of its geographical location of their most awful struggles, Poland has met its martyrdom with a fortitude which proves how ready are its patriots to suffer and die if in the end, their country may be freed from hated autocratic rule.

"Old men and young boys, peasants, and university students, workmen and artisans, flocked by the tens of thousands to the banners to fight for the liberation of Poland," said E. H. Lewinski Corwin. "The offerings were truly touching; they demonstrated to what degree of patriotism a people, for a century vainly aspiring to liberty, is able to rise. Domestic servants and laborers gave all their savings, boys in primary schools and old people in almshouses offered the few cents they had managed to spare with great difficulty; a blind man who earned his living by playing a violin in the streets came to donate his single treasure—the treasure by which he earned his daily bread. Gold rings poured into the treasury in such numbers that one could soon find no married couple wearing this emblem of wedlock; it was considered a shame not to have offered it to the military treasury. * * * The whole nation became an immense workshop, a source of

inexhaustible generosity; one thought and one desire animated all minds: 'the Polish Army!'"

And to what individual, to what group or even class may be given the credit for having kept alive the spark of Polish national patriotism which Russia and Germany for a hundred years systematically schemed and labored to stamp out forever? To whose efforts is due the fact that although all schools became so Germanized or Russianized that the Polish language and anniversaries were likely to be lost forever to the Polish people, the peasants were taught secretly their native tongue in anticipation of the day when they would be free to speak it openly with impunity?

Perhaps more than any one other group of patriots, the resurrection of the country has been made possible by the women of Poland. In attempting to force a foreign education and foreign ideals upon the Poles, the conquerors were so inefficient or ignorant as to neglect or ignore this fact. To what account was their forcing the boys and young men of the vanquished people to the adoption of new languages and customs if, when they married, their wives came to them with minds trained in Polish, steeped with Polish sentiments, and thrilling with veneration and love for Polish heroes and traditions?

Because the Poles from the very inception of the race have been individualistic, liberty loving people, being an elective monarchy at a time when other European powers had no conception of constitutions to curtail the power of the rulers and strengthen the masses, the women of the nation have played an important part in its affairs. The list of heroines and illustrious, justly famous beautiful women, is a long one. The first to emerge from the shadows of myth and fable is Wanda, daughter of Krakus, who rather than marry a German who coveted her for her beauty, drowned herself in the River Vistula, lest her refusal should merely serve the Teuton hordes with an excuse to overrun her country.

The princess Kunegunda was of Hungarian birth, but she became so Polish in heart and sentiment after her marriage to King Poleslaw the Second, that when the country was in danger from a Tartar invasion, she gave all her immense dowry for its defense.

Jadwiga, granddaughter of Kazimerz the great, who became queen at the age of thirteen, gave up her lover when the time came for her to wed, to become the Christian wife of Prince Jagiello of Lithuania, who, beside being a pagan, was old, rough, and illiterate. In order to strengthen Poland by a blood alliance with a powerful neighboring kingdom. Not only did this noble queen benefit Poland politically by her sacrifice, but Lithuanians spiritually as well, for she was the means of converting the king and the people to the Christian religion.

Jadwiga was apparently as wise as she was beautiful and good, for her desire to educate her subjects

was so strong that she sold her crown jewels to endow Cracow Academy. The University which she thus supported, came in time to be one of the foremost in the theological discussions and is famous for the astronomical and mathematical works of Boychech, the medical knowledge of Matthew of Miechow, and the astronomy and economy of the immortal Copernicus. The end of the fifteenth century found Poland one of the largest empires on the continent and a country with a well developed and pronounced culture all its own.

It was due, however, to a foreigner, Dombrowska, daughter of the King of Bohemia that Poland became one of the first nations to embrace Christianity, for when she married Mieszko of the first ruling house of Poland, called Piast, in 965 A. D., she brought to her new home the new faith, allying it with the Latin element of Western Europe. Russia, which also became Christianized at the same time, joined forces with the east and became Byzantine.

During the siege of Trembowla when Poland was stemming the tide of the Turkish invasion which threatened all western civilization, Chrzanowska, the spirited wife of the defender loaded a cannon with her own hands and swore to kill her husband, who was on the verge of defeat and surrender, if he did not hold out until Sobieski arrived.

Emilia Zyberk-Plater and Antonia Tomaszewska fought as soldiers on the battlefields as the head of regiments and laid down their lives for their country. Claudia Potocka and Emilia Szczaniecka, during the revolution of 1831, gave their fortunes to the cause, nursed the wounded in field and hospital, and paid the penalty of exile to Siberia without regret.

Frederick the Great paid an unintentional compliment to the mentality of Polish women when he said that "In Poland the women attend to politics while the men get drunk," for as Louis Van Norman observes, "Is it not the inferior woman who despises politics?"

Mme. Helena Piotrowska, who has studied at both Columbia and Cornell Universities, and has been for twelve years an authority on education, gives the following as her family's personal experiences in Poland during the rebellions of 1831 and 1863.

"The part which our women have played in the pathetic attempts of our country to shake off foreign rule has been particularly heroic," she said. "After the defeat of the uprising of 1863, every woman in Poland dressed in black. It was considered unpatriotic to appear in any other color until authorities, determined to crush the national feeling, issued an order to arrest any women seen in black garments.

"I cannot enumerate the number of women who followed their husbands, fathers, or lovers into exile in Siberia. If unable to perform this act of devotion, the unmarried ones remained single the remainder of their lives. I, personally, had two great aunts who dedicated themselves to celibacy for this reason."

The part which women will take in the reconstruction of Poland will be an important one. M. Ramon Dmowski, president of the Polish National Com-

mittee at Paris, Polish diplomat and statesman says "Women are too valuable to be excluded from a share in the government; the war has conclusively proved this. Among the Poles there is no talk of women's rights. We speak rather of women's duties. Women indisputably, will be included in Polish politics on the same terms as men, as they are bound to be included in the politics of all other countries throughout the world."

"The brilliant modern women of Polish birth are familiar to the majority of Americans. Beside Madame Paderewski, whose noble work of rescuing the ruined girls of her army ridden country and restoring them and their babies to health and independence, is well known. There are other illustrious examples. Mme. Curie Sklodowska, wife of the French scientist, with whom she was the co-discoverer of radium and who is the first woman professor in France to teach in the celebrated Sorbonne University, is now serving as a nurse on the battlefields. Dr. Mary Zakroewska is another famous physician in active service.

The Countess Ledochowska, one of the aristocrats of Poland, although over sixty years old, is singly and unassisted by the government, performing the herculean task of collecting all the little waifs who in appalling numbers are overrunning neutral countries from the Austrian, Galician, and Russian provinces, and is providing shelter for them in Denmark.

Mme. Wyslouch, of Galicia, and Mme. Zofia Golinska-Daszinska, both of whom are highly talented, patriotic women, are helping to mould the future of the Slavic race by their brilliant political publications.

Mme. Sembrich, Mme. Kvasigroch, Mme. Nehring, all of whom are famous singers, and Mme. Szumowska-Adamowska, the renowned Chicago pianist, are active patriots. Mme. Smulski, Mrs. Neuman, Miss Napieralska, Mrs. M. Sakowska, president of the women's section of the Polish Womans' Alliance; Mrs. Laudyn Chrzanowska, editor of the official Alliance paper, and author of a comprehensive treatise on the Polish and Jewish war problems, and Mrs. Helen Fleming Czachorski, attorney of the Alliance, are also instrumental in bringing nearer the happy future of the free Poles.

Both Marya Konopnicka, Poland's greatest poetess, who shares a place in the literature of the world, and Orzeskova, the famous novelist, died only recently, and may also be included among the modern celebrities.

American women owe a debt of gratitude to a Polish woman named Ernestine L. Rose, who came to this country in 1836, for it was she who first presented a petition to the New York legislature that married women be permitted to own property in their own right. After thirteen years of endeavor, this pioneer suffragist witnessed the passage of the first act of law which made married women legally capable of possessing their own property and later all English-speaking countries followed the example of New York. It is surprising how long the adoption of this just measure was delayed. It was not until 1882 that English women were granted property rights and to this very day in some of our

Southern States, there are still several serious legal disabilities in this line.

The tremendous results which the women have achieved in succoring stricken Poland during the last three years may best be shown by quoting Lewinski-Corwin. "Organized into leagues, they cared for the needs of men in the fields as well as for their families at home. They maintained shelters, public kitchens, homes for orphans, milk stations, public laundries, and employment agencies. They worked as nurses in hospitals and cared for the indigent sick in their homes. They organized play grounds and summer colonies for children, courses for illiterates and vacation schools for teachers. They helped in spreading the gospel of independence among the people by spoken word and written. They edited newspapers and published pamphlets and books. They assisted the quartermaster of the army and the civic commissioners of the national supreme committee in studying the economic conditions of the country and supplying assistance where it was most needed. They trained teachers for the Polish elementary schools which were organized as soon as the Russians retired. About twenty such pedagogical colleges were opened in 1915 and the numbers of students who applied surpassed all expectations of the organizers. Where forty were expected, two hundred enrolled. The education of youth was made a matter of particular concern."

With such a record, it is safe to assert that Poland's future as a republic will be a fair one. For, once a nation masters the truth that to uplift its people, it must first educate the mothers of its men, and that conditions must be made safe for them to mingle freely in all professions and callings, with the same wage scale, moral code, and same opportunities for advancement of the sexes, there is no height to which it might not aspire and no honor which it may not achieve.

The principle which raised the teachings of Christ above those of Tao, Buddha, and the others, and which was responsible for the regeneration of the world, was the elevation of woman from the age old oriental position of lowliness and scornful toleration to one of love, veneration, and trust.

AMERICANIZATION

Throughout the country the process of inculcating American ideals in the hearts and minds of residents of the United States whose parents, or who themselves have come to us from other shores, is making rapid headway. In a great many communities educational boards have procured the services of so-called directors of this movement, who prepare treatises on the subject couched in simple English for those who understand the language of America, or translations into foreign tongues according to the needs of particular localities. Especially in the industrial centers in the New England and Atlantic states gratifying prog-

ress is being made in this worthy endeavor. More attention than ever before is being devoted to the movement in the night schools where instruction is imparted gratis, and the eagerness displayed by scholars of European blood to acquire the important principles of Americanization is a constant source of pleasure to the spreaders of this sacred gospel. Where intelligent and tactful methods are employed, beneficial results are almost immediately forthcoming. The pupils are quick to realize the benefits of the courses. They appreciate these efforts in their behalf and they are proud to become citizens of a land which offers them such opportunities as does America.

Unfortunately, however, deplorable mistakes have been made at the very outset by certain well-meaning, but tactless, instructors. They seemed to labor under the impression that to impart the Americanization idea to "foreigners", all that was necessary was to drive their points home incessantly, trusting to luck that the subject would absorb the desired knowledge automatically. Others apparently regarded Americanization as something material which, so to speak, could be poured into the subject much after the manner of ink into an ink-well. But the greatest mistake of all has been the careless use of the word "foreigner." Teachers who should know better have employed this term in a way that is anything but helpful. If they only paused a moment to reflect on the thought that, only a few generations removed, all our ancestors were "foreigners", they would not be so ready to use the word in a sense that can only hurt and not help. There are very few of us descended from the primitive American Indians. Therefore, whether our ancestors came over on the Mayflower or on a more modern trans-Atlantic vessel, it is only a question of time in establishing our "foreign" lineage. The term "foreigner", used in the sense of a dividing wall which excludes from a group of Americans those whose emigration from another land is not so remote as our own, or that of our parents, is repugnant, to say the least. And progressive, thinking manufacturers in some of our most important industrial districts, realizing the danger of indiscriminate employment of the word, have not hesitated to instruct their foremen to be most careful in their attitude toward the rank and file in the mills and factories on this point. They are American enough to sense the difficulty in bringing workmen from other coun-

tries around to our way of thinking if the word "foreigner" is hurled in their teeth incessantly. They know that the workmen of foreign birth or extraction will be necessarily reluctant in the effort to assimilate the ideals and customs of America if the exponents of those ideals and customs, with whom they come in daily contact, persist in reminding them that they are not Americans.

Emigrants to this country arrive at our ports impressed with the fact that they are coming to a land renowned for its freedom and generosity of thought. Their first glimpse of the harbor of New York discloses the Statue of Liberty, which speaks to them a welcome and a promise of relief from oppression. And then they or their children go to our schools and hear themselves referred to as "foreigners". They go into shops and again the offensive word greets their ears! They meet it on the streets, at public gatherings, on every side. If they proceed to Connecticut, whither so many of their relatives have taken up abode, they read with astonishment in the press that the governor of the state forbids the use of their native tongue in the schools, except in religious instruction! And this too, even in their own parochial schools, built and maintained out of their own funds! They are informed by the State Board of Education that all elementary instruction must be imparted in English, and that if their language is employed in the teaching of religion, it must be restricted to one ordinary period, which lasts from twenty minutes to three-quarters of an hour, as the case may be. Surely such methods are not calculated to impress the spirit of Americanization very strongly on them or theirs. Is it to be wondered at that those of foreign birth or descent who have the right of franchise in that state demonstrated their resentment at the polls on election day by voting almost to a man for the candidate who opposed the governor? In the manufacturing towns, which almost invariably return a heavy majority for the governor's party, and where a large percentage of the electorate is of foreign descent, the customary pluralities for the chief executives were either wiped out entirely or reduced to little more than nothing. The story told by the ballots was that electors of Polish, French and Italian extraction have no patience with any official who attempts to curb their freedom of thought and speech in any degree whatsoever. They feel, and rightly so, that so long as the interests

of America are not thereby endangered, they have a right to employ their native tongue in their parochial schools which they support independently of the state.

These are some of the unhappy phases of the situation brought about by the Americanization movement. It is fortunate that such instances are in the minority. The country is to be congratulated on having for the most part men in charge of this work who are alive to the needs of the nation and who see in their neighbors, born elsewhere than in the United States, not "foreigners", but potential Americans.

A. E. J. R.

A POLISH SEACOAST

In the opinion of the Newark (N. J.) *Star-Eagle*, reconstitution of Poland will be one of the most grateful tasks of the makers of Europe's new map, and it declares that "a new Poland without an outlet to the sea is unthinkable." Under the caption "Reconstituting Poland", this newspaper carried the following editorial:

For nearly 150 years Poland has suffered and waited for the new era which the peace conference will launch.

Here is a lesson in the remorselessness of history, the sureness of retribution for wrong, the certainty of final victory for those who keep the flag flying, if not on battlements, at least in their hearts, amid spoliation, rapine and massacre.

Poland, once the second largest nation of Europe, with 14,000,000 people, a frontage on the sea and on army which saved Europe from the Turk, was stolen and divided by the Romanoffs, the Hapsburgs and Hohenzollerns. The Romanoff dominion is itself dismembered, its czar assassinated; the Hapsburg conglomerate of states is split up, its emperor possibly a fugitive; the Hohenzollern sovereignty is crumbling, its kaiser nearly deposed and ready to flee. Inherent right is producing such a tottering of imperial, sword-clanking houses as will stand through the ages as a warning against power-lust and land-stealing.

It would be a greater evil to retain the unnatural bond between the Polish majority and its hated enemies than to incorporate the racial minority in a new nation.

Among the causes of the great war has been the struggle of interior nations for windows on the sea. The removal of this hobble on natural development undoubtedly will be provided for at the peace table. A new Poland without an outlet to the sea is unthinkable.

Before the three partitions Poland had an extensive coast along the Baltic with ports and harbors now in possession of Russia and Germany. When the doctrine of self-determination gives back Poland to the Poles the stolen seacoast naturally will go with it.

Recognition of the Polish Army as Viewed by the American Press

[Editors throughout the United States comment with satisfaction upon the action of the American Government, following the example of France and Great Britain, in recognizing the Polish Army overseas as an autonomous and co-belligerent force. Herewith are reprinted a few editorial expressions in the premises from various sections of the country]:

TWO BIG QUESTIONS

The thirteenth of President Wilson's fourteen peace terms will be, perhaps, the bitterest of all for Germany to accept. That point provides:

"An independent Polish state should be erected which should include territory inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence should be guaranteed by international covenant."

The organization of a new Polish state, which should include all the territory originally Polish, with free and secure access to the sea, would erect the last barrier between Germany and the east. Such a new state would reach to within what the Germans undoubtedly would regard as dangerous proximity to Berlin, and it is no wonder the German press already is beginning to show signs of restlessness over the Polish problem. According to the most liberal interpretation of the President's language, the new Polish state would include the ancient Polish seaport on the Baltic, Danzig; Silesia, which contains the richest coal fields in Europe; Posen, West Prussia, and East Prussia. The new state also would include Russian Poland, now held by German armies; and Galicia, which is Austria's share of the partitioned kingdom.

What the creation of such a state would mean to Germany was well explained by Prince Lichnowsky, who was the Kaiser's ambassador to London at the outbreak of war and who, it will be remembered, wrote the famous memorandum in which he indicted his own government for the crime of bringing on the war. Almost a year ago the prince wrote:

"The Polish issue actually constitutes for us Prussians a vital question both in war and peace. With it stands or falls the position of Prussia and the empire as a great power." Prussia became a great power through her conquest of Poland. If she is forced to give up her plundered territory, she will again relapse into second rate influence among the nations.

Poland is Prussia's natural gateway to European and Asiatic Russia, and incidentally to the far east. With the loss of Bulgaria as an ally, she needs Poland more than ever for the development of her economic intentions, especially as the new state of Bohemia blocks all her routes to the east, even with German-speaking Austria a willing vassal. Prussia will not restore all her purloined portions of Poland unless she is decisively defeated. A new and great Poland would mean the death blow to all her ambitions for centuries. Therefore, as *The News* has said before, it is of vital importance that the outlines of the new Polish state should be decided upon as soon as possible by the allied governments. This question

must not be left as one of the most ticklish to provide cause for dissention at the peace conference.

Germany has attempted to forestall the loss of her Polish provinces by a last-hour attempt to conciliate the inhabitants of those districts. Poland today is under the power of the German military authorities. General Von Beseler is the military governor. Under instructions from Berlin he has restored the control of the schools to the people, although the Germans still hold control of the higher educational institutions and the technical schools. Germany has actually attempted to set up a Polish state of her own making, with a council of regency to exercise minor administrative functions. However, the military governor must sign all orders, which, to a great extent, nullifies any seeming tendency to permit Polish autonomy. Poland, as Germany conceives the state, was to have a king, but one never has been selected.

The Polish state which the allies recognize consists of the Polish national committee of Paris. This committee is committed to the republican form of government, with equal franchise for all citizens. The new republic should also follow Bohemia's lead and declare against a state church and put the ban forever upon titles of nobility. And the allies must insist upon the construction of a strong, and not a weak Poland, for the new state must stand as a buffer between Germany and Russia and must not again fall a prey to predatory neighbors.

While the new Poland is to stand as a bulwark against Prussian aggression toward the east little Schleswig on the north and west demands the right of self-determination and the righting of the wrong done her in 1864 by Prussia. Schleswig is Danish, and is known in Denmark as South Jutland. The Danish population is about 250,000, with only a small infiltration of Germans who have tried unsuccessfully to Germanize the older inhabitants. The territory which it is now claimed should have the right to go back to the mother country is not large, but is of the most vital importance to the German empire, as it includes the lands lying north of the Kiel canal to its junction with the river Eider, thence along the Eider in a general southwesterly direction to the North Sea, north of Frederiksstad.

"All of this territory," declares a committee of Schleswig residents now active in the United States, "has been Danish from time immemorial. The Germans in southern Schleswig are immigrants. All the old name-places are Danish, not German. The Germans, being stronger in numbers, have crowded us, have settled our lands. But the land itself was originally Danish. Of course the Germans who have moved in since 1864 will oppose the Danish majority which desires a return to Denmark. But the old German stock, which settled before the war of 1864, is pro-Danish and just as sick of Prussian oppression as the Danes."

This same authority explains that the crime of Schleswig-Holstein in 1864 furnishes one of the finest

examples of Bismarck's Machiavellian policy at its best. The unsettled state of affairs of the two duchies was the excuse for the joint Austrian and German attack. The Danes held out bravely for nine months against the overwhelmingly superior enemy forces, but finally were forced to succumb. Hardly, however, had the Austrians and the Germans reduced the two duchies before they began to quarrel over the spoils, and, as usual, Austria lost. Then the treaty of Prague was drawn to settle the dispute over Schleswig-Holstein. By the terms of this treaty, Holstein and Schleswig were ceded to Prussia, but the clever Napoleon III of France succeeded in slipping a clause into the treaty that northern Schleswig was to have the right to be again united with Denmark should the people "express a desire to be so by a vote freely given." This clause in the treaty of Prague, which was signed in 1866, together with the rest of that document, was confirmed by King Wilhelm I of Prussia with a solemn oath "in the name of the Triune God." After the war with France, which Bismarck provoked five years later, Germany forgot about the plebiscite clause in the treaty of Prague, but that clause has now come up to plague the Prussian military overlord.

After 1871 the Prussianization of north Schleswig began and has continued ever since unhampered. Germany has cajoled and threatened the Danes to exercise their votes to the interest of Germany. People receiving accident, sickness and old age pensions, railroad and postal employes and others in any way dependent upon the state, have been informed they must vote for the German candidates for office or lose their benefits or positions. Even the pastors of the state church were drafted into this work of Germanization, and they are said to have devoted more of their time to uprooting the Danish language than to guiding their flocks spiritually. As in Poland, the German government has tried to buy up all the Danish farms at high prices and settle them with German farmers. But the Jutlanders have clung doggedly to their estates, and, as in Poland, the conquered have proved of greater persistency than their conquerors.—Grand Rapids (Mich.) *News*.

THE RECOGNITION OF POLAND

Following the example of France and Great Britain, the United States on Monday formally recognized "the Polish army under the supreme political authority of the Polish National Committee as autonomous, allied and co-belligerent."

In announcing this action Secretary Lansing says: "This Government's position with regard to the Polish cause and the Polish people could hardly be more clearly defined than was outlined by the President in his address before the Congress on January 8, 1918."

The passage to which the Secretary of State thus refers is the thirteenth of President Wilson's celebrated fourteen conditions and reads thus:

"XIII. An independent Polish state should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant."

The Polish state thus contemplated must certainly comprise the provinces of the former kingdom of Poland which were distributed to Russia, Prussia and Austria when Poland was partitioned among her enemies. To assure the new Poland a free and secure access to the sea means that she must have a seaport of her own; and it would be a righteous retribution to restore to the Poles the fortified city of Danzig on the Baltic, which was taken from them by the Prussians in 1793.

The new Poland already has an army of its own, consisting largely of Poles recruited in the United States. These troops are now in active service on the western front. No one person has done more to bring this force into existence and to promote the cause of free Poland among Americans than Ignace Jan Paderewski, the delicate and sensitive Polish pianist and musical composer, who looks as if a breath of wind would blow him away. The iron has entered into his soul in behalf of his native land, and he has proved himself to be a giant in spirit by what he has done for her.

When the Poles come into their own and the history of their restoration is written, no name on the list of Polish patriots in the twentieth century will shine out brighter than that of Ignace Jan Paderewski.—New York (N. Y.) *Sun*.

A UNITED POLAND

The government of the United States does well to associate itself with the governments of the other great powers in formal recognition of the Polish army as autonomous and co-belligerent. This is only a matter of form, the army having been recruited largely in America with the friendly cognizance of the government, but the form is important as giving to the soldiers in the field a status which legally debars the enemy from treating them as subjects guilty of treason. If a member of the army who is a native of Prussian Poland were taken prisoner by the Prussians, they could not execute him as a rebel or traitor—or, at least, not without adding to their breaches of international law. We may be confident that Gen. Haller's legion will be more fortunate than Gen. Pilsudski's, the latter, which was raised in Russian Poland, having been disbanded by the Germans, and its leader thrown into a cell of the Magdeburg fortress.

When the time comes to lay down the conditions of peace there should be no compromise in regard to the reunion of all parts of Poland. The robbers must give up their spoils. There can be no holding back of the Prussian, the Austrian, or the Russian share, at present occupied by Germany. The dismemberment of Poland was a great international crime. For more than 150 years the wrong of the first partition of the country among its greedy and unscrupulous neighbors has called for redress. It never had one atom of justification. Now the democratic nations must see to it that there shall be no fragmentary Poland, but a complete and united Poland restored to its rightful place among the nations, free, independent, and standing on the Baltic shore with Danzig as its principal port. At the peace conference of the associated powers America will not forget the land of Kosciusko and Pulaski.—Boston (Mass.) *Herald*.

THE FREEDOM OF POLAND

Another of the fourteen points in President Wilson's program of peace has been as good as settled by the recognition of the new Polish state. Point XIII demanded that "an independent Polish state should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant." France, Great Britain, Italy and the United States, by their recognition of the Polish national committee, have placed themselves behind that declaration from which there can be no withdrawal. The collapse of Austria freed Austrian Poland, Russian Poland had already been relinquished by Russia, and Germany is in no position to oppose the restoration of German Poland to its rightful owners, the Polish people.

This makes the fifth territorial point in the now famous fourteen principles of January 8 to be translated into actuality by the armistice terms imposed upon the enemy. Point IX: "A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality," has already been accomplished by the Italian occupation of Trieste and the Trentino. Point X, "The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development," is being realized by those peoples at this hour. Point XI, "Rumania, Serbia and Montenegro should be evacuated, occupied territories restored," was compelled by the unconditional surrender of Bulgaria and now of Austria-Hungary. Point XII, demanding the security and autonomous development of the nationalities then under Turkish rule and the freeing of the Dardanelles has already been assured by the surrender of the Turkish Government upon the Allied terms.

On the general terms, Point IV, "Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety," is already being strictly enforced against Austria-Hungary as against Turkey and Bulgaria.

The evacuation of Belgium and France, including Alsace-Lorraine, is being attended to by Marshal Foch in rapid order. The evacuation of Russia essentially follows.

Thus practically all the territorial points have been determined by the armistices, as demands, not negotiations. There remain only points I, II and III, open covenants of peace, no secret diplomacy; freedom of the seas and the economic adjustment, and point V,

disposition of colonial claims on the principle of the interest of the population concerned. The armistice terms presented to Germany will no doubt deal with these in the same thorough and satisfactory manner that the other issues have been met, and will, of course, include the merited fate of Kaiserism.

The terms exacted from Austria-Hungary, astonishing in their completeness, foreshadow those to be demanded from Germany, and assume a termination of the war that will indeed "make the world safe for democracy."—Pittsburgh (Pa.) *Dispatch*.

POLAND'S COMING FREEDOM

For many years the oppressed nations of Europe have endured persecution and bondage, and while they have been regarded with pity and sympathy by the more democratically inclined powers, their condition seemed hopeless and their freedom was not regarded as among the practical possibilities of the future. Poland, since the defeat of Kosciusko and the robber partition, has been one of those nations which fate seemed to have marked for doom and extinction.

German Poland, with a Polish population of 62 per cent of the total, has for years struggled against the process of denationalization, and despite the statement of Solf that the fourteen points of Wilson could not be stretched to include the disposition of German Poland, it can hardly be supposed that the people of that region will lose this chance of regaining their national independence. By every means in its power the Prussian Government has tried to stamp out the Polish tongue, national life and social and economic strength. Equally rigid and oppressive has been the rule of Russia in Poland, the administration of government by both countries being much like the German rule in Alsace-Lorraine.

The hope of national independence which had sunk so low since the final partition and denationalization of Poland was fanned to flame again by the great wind of democracy stirred by this war; and once more there was a Polish army fighting for freedom. Many of its soldiers were recruited in this country and, under the command of General Josef Haller, are now on the western front with the Allied troops. A Polish National Committee has been formed at Washington and to the president of this body Secretary Lansing has sent a letter recognizing the Polish army as autonomous and co-belligerent. This carries with it the recognition of the political authority of the national committee, and in the development of events it is not to be doubted that the recognition of Poland's independent nationality will follow.—Nashville (Tenn.) *Tennessean*.

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